

ALEXANDER'S MAGAZINE



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NOVEMBER, 1907

*This Magazine gives the Negro's point
of View Regarding his own Problems
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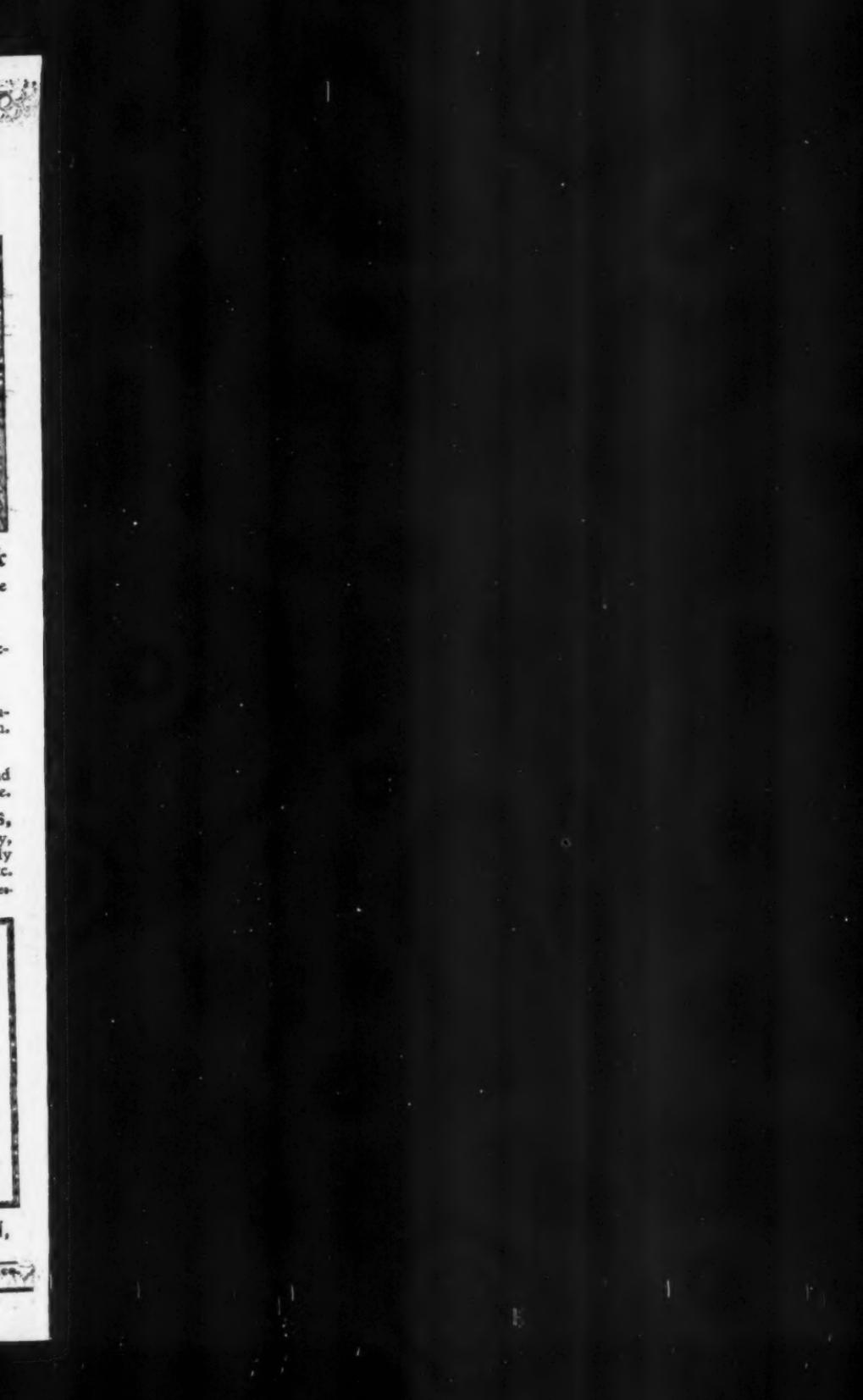
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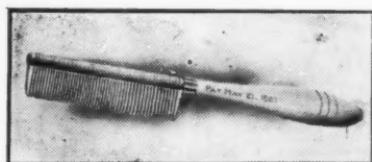
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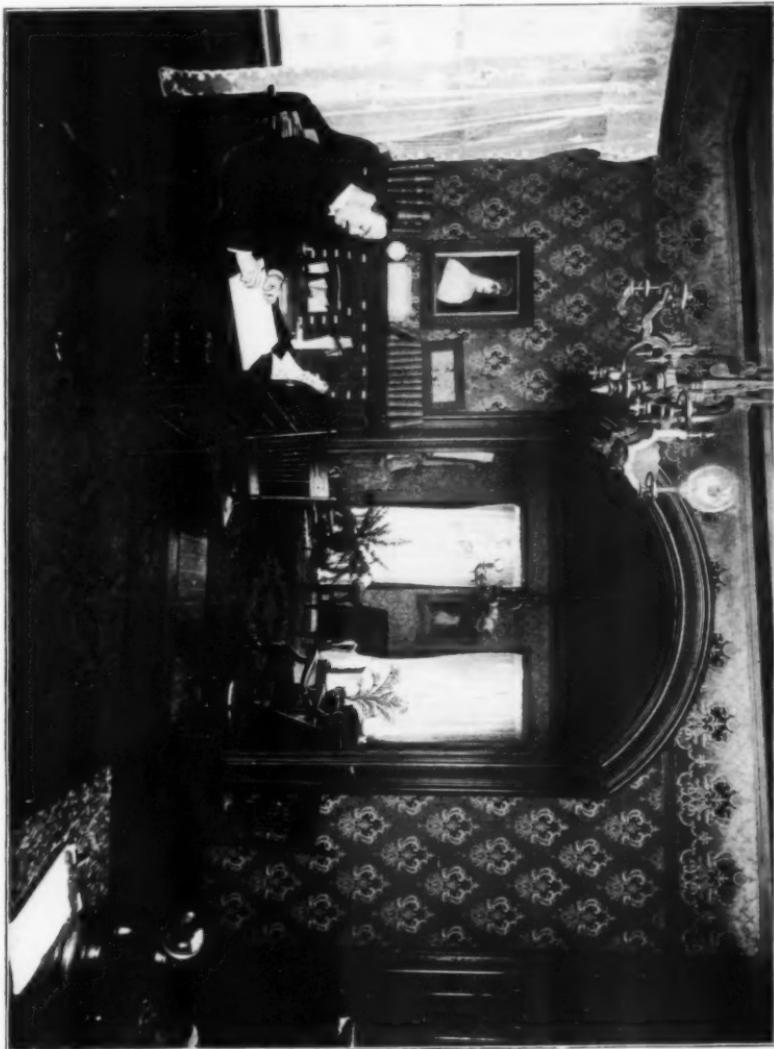


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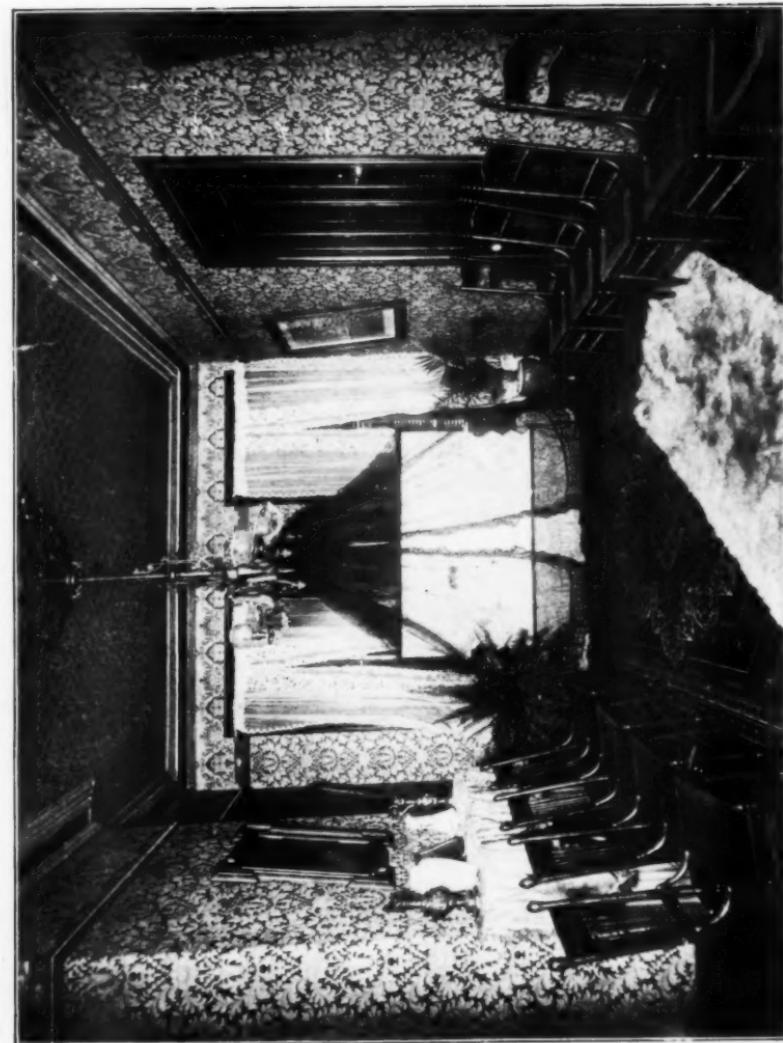
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ALEXANDER'S MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Spreading of Reliable Information Concerning the Operation of Educational Institutions in the South, the Moral, Intellectual, Commercial and Industrial Improvement of the Negro Race in the United States. Published on the Fifteenth Day of each Month. Entered as Second-Class Matter on May 3, 1905, at the Post Office at Boston Massachusetts, under act of Congress March 3, 1879.

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Editorial Department

THE AMERICAN NEGRO ACADEMY.

The American Negro Academy is an association of Negro scholars, writers and educators who have achieved distinction. It has headquarters in Washington and will hold in December next in that city its eleventh annual meeting. It is now investigating various phases of the race problem and from time to time it publishes the results of these investigations under the general title of "Occasional Papers." Last year it investigated and discussed the economic status of the Negro. At the coming session the vital aspects or conditions of the race will be considered. Besides the president's address along the lines of the general subject papers are promised by Dr. Solomon C. Fuller of Westborough, Mass., Dr. Marcus F. Wheatland of Newport, R. I., Mr. J. E. Kweggir-Aggrey, a native African and member of the faculty of Livingstone College, R. R. Wright, Jr., and Dr. J. J. France on the Negro and disease, physical characteristics of the African of the West Coast, Negro housing from a sanitary standpoint together with some cognate phase of the subject from the point of view of a physician

of large experience in one of the black belts of the South.

The Academy was founded by the late Rev. Alexander Crummell, D. D., and is limited in its membership to fifty members. It has a membership today numbering nearly forty. Dr. Crummell was its first president, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois its second, and the editor of this magazine is the present and third incumbent of that office.

THE THIRD TERM SPECTRE.

Like Banquo's ghost the third term spectre does not down. Amid all the noise and revel at the Taft love feast the spectre appears pale and disturbing. What does it there? What does it want? These are questions which rise whenever it rises to fright the feasters even at the banquet board of the aspiring secretary of war. Yes, why is the Third Term spectre so uneasy, so restless? Why does it visit where it is so often an unbidden guest, scaring friends and foes alike by the dark secret which lurks in its grim and purposeful face? It is like the wind coming and going as it listeth. We hear anon the sound of its coming and the sound of its going but cannot for the soul of

us tell confidently whence the apparition cometh or whither it is to go.

The way of the third term spectre is the way of the wind. Still as we know now something of the whence and the whither of this mysterious element we know something also of the whence and the whither of the third term spectre. The extraordinary popularity of President Roosevelt throws much light on the first, and the prodigious ambition of him may throw much light on the second also. That the President is popular with the masses of his countrymen no man in his right senses can doubt. That his popularity is deep and strong no one can doubt either. For the popularity of the President both as man and as the head of the nation is almost, if not quite unprecedented in respect to all his predecessors in the White House. He has got the people, the masses of his party as no other president of the republic ever had them before. This much must be frankly conceded to the third term spectre at the outset of our discussion of the subject. President Roosevelt is popular east and he is popular west, he is popular north and he is popular south to a certain extent. In short his popularity extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Lakes to the Gulf. How much of it is mere surface manifestation and manipulation and how much of it is more, a deep ground swell of the people's love and admiration is difficult to say. Most of it may be the result of mere surface emotion on the part of the masses and manipulation of them by politicians while little of it may go deeper. But with this problem we will not now trouble the reader. His present and unprecedented popularity in all parts of the republic, whether this popularity is superficial, artificial and evanescent or deep and enduring, does not matter for our purpose, which is merely to attempt to throw some light on the cause or causes which underly the third term movement and its persistency in spite of real or feigned opposition to it from the autocratic occupant of the White House.

What is the secret of this extraordinary popularity? It lies mainly, we

think, in admiration by the people of the man who dares, of the man who does. The President is a man who dares, and who dares much at times. He is also a man who does and who does much at times. But he not only is a man who dares and does but he is a man given to the spectacular on all occasions. He does not believe in putting the light of his daring and doing under a bushel but on the contrary he seeks by all the arts of the skilful political stage manager to give them a spectacular and sensational setting. As people like the man who dares and does, as they have an unbounded appetite for the spectacular and the sensational, they like Theodore Roosevelt and manifest for him on all occasions a great amount of emotional attachment. And perhaps this attachment goes deeper than mere emotion. But no matter, as this will do for our purpose.

Bread and the circus appeal powerfully to the primitive instincts of all peoples, as they appealed to those of the old Romans. The people are greedy for bread, for the spectacular and the sensational. And in an industrial republic like ours where the people have the right of suffrage the politicians or the candidate for the popular vote succeeds best with the masses who understand how to gratify this primitive instinct for bread and that for the spectacular and the sensational. As President Roosevelt is a past grand master in those regards and has on divers occasions, official and otherwise, gratified both or appeared to do so which for all practical purposes amount to the same thing, he has attained to a popularity which is phenomenal and which pushes into the foreground every now and then the third term spectre so distressing to republican party managers and candidates for the party nomination to the presidency in 1908.

The President's attack on the railroads, the beef trust and the Standard Oil monopoly has made him solid with the common people. It gratified those primitive instincts of the people for bread and the circus, for the wherewithal to feed the hungry masses and to gratify their appetite for

the spectacular and the sensational at one and the same time. We do not say that to produce this result was the underlying motive of the action of Mr. Roosevelt. The motive was probably mixed. He undoubtedly wanted to do certain things for the sake of doing them, because he believed they ought to be done, for he likes to do things for the sake of doing them, but he likes to do things also not alone for the sake of doing them but as means toward the doing of other things also affecting himself personally or his political plans in respect to men and measures. He is one of the astute politicians, party strategist who has ever occupied the White House. His luck has been as phenomenal as is his popularity. There is something almost Napoleonic about the man in these regards. Execution follows swiftly on the heels of conception. One wonders breathlessly at the hairbreadth escapes which he has made from disaster, beginning with the dare devil charge of himself and his Rough Riders up San Juan hill to his summary discharge of the Black Battalion last November. But that sensational and spectacular performance in Cuba made him governor of New York State which finally landed him in the White House, while the sensational and spectacular performance in the Brownsville affray won him the solid support of the solid white South, a thing which he desired at the time above all other things.

A chief magistrate with such a passion for doing things, for doing them in a spectacular and sensational way while he increases his popularity thereby with the masses must necessarily make for himself and measures many enemies. And this President Roosevelt has certainly done, not on account of many of the things which he has done but because of the manner in which he has done them. Many and powerful enemies he has made among the railroad people, among the beef trust people and among the Standard Oil people. We do not say that he is either fortunate or unfortunate in the making of such enemies. We merely note the fact as it may

have a bearing on the third term spectre. As the third term spectre has undoubtedly a disturbing influence on these enemies of the President, those powerful enemies of the President must have an equally disturbing influence on the third term spectre. For these enemies of the President have back of them and all about them the fabulous wealth and the formidable capitalistic organization of the republic, and all that those two things may mean for harm to the plans and aspirations of the powerful and spectacular occupant of the White House. Kings always combine with the people in order to reduce to subjection a recalcitrant aristocracy. Our Theodore Rex is copying this royal example in his war on our American plutocracy. He has the people on his side but he has arrayed against him either openly or secretly nearly all of the plutocrats of the republic. But if he has not all of the plutocrats arrayed against him in his war on trusts and monopolies, neither has he all of the people on his side in his struggle for power. For by his Draconian order discharging without honor or trial of any kind 167 soldiers of the 25th U. S. infantry in the Brownsville affray he alienated the affections of 10,000,000 of the colored people of the country. In its immediate and remote consequences this act of the President is perhaps the most serious tactical blunder which he has made since his advent into public life nearly twenty-five years ago. In it his proverbial good luck forsook him, and has left him for nearly a year at the mercy of his enemies. Is it the rift within the man of destiny's life which by and by will make the music of his darling popularity mute? Who knows? Napoleon had his Spanish campaign and his Russian disaster before he met his fate at Waterloo. Now as the great mass of those 10,000,000 Colored Americans are republicans in politics and party affiliation their enmity to the President because of his Brownsville order must be very disturbing to the third term spectre. We think that it is, in fact we know that it is, since no republican presidential candidate can be elected next year

without the support at the polls in New York and New Jersey and Ohio and Illinois and Indiana and West Virginia of the colored vote of those states. There are other causes which tend to disturb the third term spectre like the famous butting into the Colorado labor situation by the President on the eve of the trial of the labor leader Moyer. This has rendered in a measure the pragmatic head of the nation persona non grata to many of the wage workers of the country. Wherefore if the third term spectre disturbs the political calculations of others, its political calculations are in turn disturbed by others. And so wags the merry or the strenuous world of politics in the White House and in the country at large. And we shall all see what we shall see, and that within another half year, whether the dog shall wag the tail of him or the tail of the dog. We are inclined to put up odds on the dog.

HIS CANDIDACY AND HIS RECORD.

William H. Taft, secretary of war in President Roosevelt's cabinet, and Mr. Roosevelt's candidate for Presidential honors in 1908, is a very big man physically, an exceedingly supple and adroit man mentally, and an extremely ambitious man politically. If these are qualifications for the Presidency, than Mr. Secretary Taft is well equipped for that great office. But no Colored voter can accept them as all sufficient to entitle any man, however big he may be physically, adroit and supple, mentally, and ambitious politically to reach the highest position in the republic. The man who solicits the Colored vote must possess above every other quality and qualification, the supreme quality and qualification of friendship to the Colored race not merely in words, which are always cheap, but in very deed.

Has Mr. Secretary Taft such supreme quality and qualification? He has them not today and he has never had them. On the contrary, his acts and his words too, have shown him to be no true friend of the Colored people of the country. He is a good

enough friend to the Colored people of the Philippines, eight thousand miles away from America. So much we cheerfully concede to him and to his candidacy for the Presidency. But that he is a good enough friend to the Colored people at his own door we now and here most emphatically deny. The fault we find with him is not that he is wanting in ability, adroitness, ambition to be President, and friendship for the Filipinos. Not at all. For he appears to possess all of these qualifications in an eminent degree. The case we have against him is that he lacks the one thing needful to us is a race. And lacking in this regard he is lacking in all other regards. We can only judge what he would be as President, what he is today, what his record is, in respect to the rights and liberties of the American Colored man. And by the fruits of this candidate's political tree shall he be judged. What do those fruits show Mr. Secretary Taft to be in respect to the Colored people in America? They show him to be the pliant tool in the hands of President Roosevelt. They show him to be the pliant tool likewise of American race prejudice. How and when? We shall presently see.

When Mr. Secretary Taft was governor-general of the Philippines, there arose among Americans in those islands the old and hateful cry of American colorphobia against our Colored troops stationed there. The burden of that cry was a lie, fabricated out of whole cloth, that the Filipinos did not want these troops among them because of their race and color. And our brave governor-general harkened to this cry, and stood sponsor for this lie of American colorphobia 8000 miles away from its habitat in this country. He accordingly communicated to his chief in the White House and the head of the American army an account of the circumstances of this outbreak of American race prejudice as to obtain from that self same chief and head of the American army an order recalling our Colored troops from the Philippines. And later when President Roosevelt having appointed our brave and pliant governor-general to be his

secretary of war, this self same brave and pliant secretary of war reversed exactly the position taken by him when governor-general in obedience to the demand of American colorphobia in respect to the presence of Colored troops in the Philippines. How and when? But this brings us to the second count in our indictment against Mr. Secretary Taft.

When President Roosevelt, from political motives best known to himself, issued last November his Draconian order discharging without honor or trial of any kind 167 Colored soldiers of the 25th U. S. Infantry, on a mere suspicion of their guilt in the Brownsville affray, our brave secretary of war with the instinct of a just judge suspended for a day, the operation of that unjust and autocratic order of his chief. But when our big man of war, who is in every inch of his ponderous body and agile mind a politician, had slept on what he had done, and dreamt of the ill consequences which might issue therefrom to his aspirations to the Presidency, he repented speedily enough in the morning to satisfy even the autocratic temper of the author of the order by revoking with astonishing alacrity and celerity his order suspending the execution of the President's tyrannous decree. And so with the willing consent of our brave and pliant secretary of war the unjust and arbitrary order of discharge was executed until every last man of the brave, black battalion was dismissed in disgrace from the American army which they had helped to make glorious by glorious deeds at home and abroad.

But this was not all. For when hard pressed by public opinion and investigation in the senate of his cruel and autocratic order discharging the Black Battalion, the President called on his big and pliant secretary of war to defend the same. Mr. Secretary Taft did so, and with a mental and moral suppleness which was most amazing, tried in his report to the senate on the subject of the Brownsville affray to outdo even the arbitrary author of the unjust order in villification of those 167 Colored soldiers. And then as it were to cap the

climax of his pliant service to the head of the army, he reversed as Secretary of war the position taken by him as governor-general of the Philippines, a position taken by him then in slavish obedience to the cry of American colorphobia in respect to the presence of Colored troops in those islands. And now as secretary of war with a pliancy not less slavish he consented to unsay what he had formerly said on this subject and to reverse exactly the position once taken by him at the nod of the angry and autocratic head of the army, who wanted the Colored troops sent out of the country to punish, we suppose, the Colored people of the country for appealing from his Draconian order of discharge to Congress and the nation in behalf of those deeply wrunged soldiers. Let it not be forgotten this year or next year that it was the pliant hand of Mr. Secretary of War Taft, which signed the order exiling to the Philippines whence they had been recalled in obedience to American colorphobia in those islands, the Colored soldiers of the regular army of the United States.

Third:—When President Roosevelt wanted some man to go South and say a smooth word, make an adroit defence of Southern disfranchisement of the Negro and an indirect one of the Lily-White movement in that section whom did he choose to do this work, go on this delicate mission but his big and pliant secretary of war? And this self same big and pliant secretary of war went into North Carolina and said his smooth word, made his adroit defense and his indirect one also to the entire satisfaction of his chief and to Southern race prejudice at one and the same time.

Fourth, and finally, when President Roosevelt wanted a man to go South and give industrial education for the Colored American the biggest sort of a boom and at the same time damn with faint praise, with the American white man's pity the higher education of the race, whom pray did he select to do this work, go on this delicate mission? Certainly no other than his always adroit and pliant secretary of war, who went to Tuskegee and did

exactly what his masterful and autocratic chief expected him to do. He boomed industrial education for the Colored people at the expense of their higher education. And now he is to be rewarded for all this pliant service to that chief and to American race prejudice with the greatest office in the gift of the American people.

William H. Taft, thy name is indeed pliancy, and thou art secretary of war in President Roosevelt's cabinet, and thou are slated to be President Roosevelt's successor, yet do not "the schemes of mice and men gang aft agley" and may not this scheme of thine and thy chief do likewise? We shall see, yes, we shall see.

THE ELECTIONS.

In Massachusetts Machine Rule prevailed over Mob Rule as was to be expected. The Republican Machine had the fight all its own way from start to finish. The Democratic Mob entered the ring in a disrupted, discouraged and demoralized condition. Poor Mr. Bartlett got but a little over eleven thousand votes and Mr. Whitney's showing was nothing to be proud of but quite the contrary. The Independence League candidate for governor fell behind Whitney's 84,000 votes not 10,000. Thomas L. Hisgen, the nominee of this party polled 75,000 votes. Under those circumstances of democratic confusion, strife and disintegration Gov. Guild and the entire Republican state ticket won an easy victory.

In the three-cornered fight for the district attorneyship of Suffolk county John B. Moran won with hands down over his two opponents. This triumph of Mr. Moran is all the more remarkable seeing that he was physically unable to go on the stump in his own defense once during the exciting and bitter campaign conducted against him by Mr. Dentison. It is renewed testimony by the people of Boston to the courage and honesty and hard fighting qualities of the doughty and tireless and indomitable little man who has for two years been at the head of the district attorney's office of this city.

In Ohio the fierce struggle between Mayor Johnson of Cleveland and Congressman Burton for the mayoralty ended in the complete triumph of the former. The crushing defeat of Congressman Burton is a serious reverse for President Roosevelt and likewise for the candidacy of Mr. Secretary of War Taft for the presidency. Mr. Burton went into the fight in the municipal elections in Cleveland under orders from the president who desired to advance the candidacy of Mr. Taft and above all things to break the power and prestige of Sen. Foraker, and in the triumph of Mr. Burton to lay the first sure step in the promotion of Mr. Burton to the seat of Senator Foraker in the national senate. Well the voters of Cleveland put their hatchet into the president's neck and chopped the necks of Messrs. Taft and Burton badly also. Tom Johnson is happy and the great senator from Ohio, we will venture to suggest, is not shedding any bitter tears over the discomfiture of these bitter enemies of his. At least we hope that he is not doing so, for the president and his two pliant tools deserve all that they received at the polls in Cleveland on the fifth of November. The Colored vote had something to do with Mr. Burton's defeat, and for ourselves we are rejoiced that this is so. They forgot party ties that day and remembered Brownsville and the Black Battalion and the enormous injustice done them by the president and Mr. Secretary of War Taft. They stuck the knife into Mr. Burton to the handle and in doing so they stuck it into President Roosevelt and into his pliant Secretary of War at the same time also. And by the way the Colored vote was an important factor in the re-election of John B. Moran as district attorney of Suffolk County. In Boston there has been manifest a growing independence in politics among its Colored vote during the last two years. And in Cleveland a like independence appeared among the Colored voters of Cleveland. The old blind partisanship is dying out slowly among the Colored vote of the North as it ought to die and political independence is slowly leavening

the lump of them. Short life to the old order and long life to the new spirit which is growing among the Colored vote of the North.

Kentucky went republican owing to discords within the Democratic party of that state. These discords were produced, according to the version of Henry Watterson, by an attempt on the part of the younger members of the democratic party to ignore the counsels of the older ones. Young men for war and old men for counsel seemed to have been forgotten by Governor Beckham and his followers to the hurt of the democrats and the help of the Republicans.

Maryland after a hotly contested election for state affairs was carried by the democrats. The legislature is also democratic which assures a democratic successor to the late Senator Gorman. Governor Warfield, the present executive entered the field as a candidate for this position but was defeated by Ex-Governor John Walter Smith. We shed no tears over this defeat of Gov. Warfield because of the statement made by him during the campaign just ended, which placed him on the side of those Negro haters of the South who champion the elimination of the Colored vote in that section, solely on the ground of race and color. He expressed a desire to disfranchise all the Colored voters of Maryland at some time in the near future without at the same time depriving a single white man of the right to vote. The Colored vote has not yet been eliminated, but Governor Warfield is himself eliminated for the nonce at least from office-holding in his dear Maryland. For this we are thankful although we know that Ex-Governor Smith is in regard to the Colored vote no whit better than is Governor Warfield. But from the former we looked for nothing good, while from the latter we had hoped for better things. A lukewarm friend is often worse, more dangerous than an open enemy. Will the Colored voters of the North mark and inwardly digest this nutritious chunk of human experience and learn to act speedily upon the political wisdom of it? We shall see in the course of another year

perhaps. At least we hope so. By the way, the Colored voters of New Jersey gave the republican party great concern in the campa'gn just closed in that state. There was a pretty formidable revolt on the part of this vote from the rule of the grand old party. This vote is large enough to have defeated the republican state ticket and to have elected the democratic ticket. Truly the revolt was not big enough to have done just this thing. It might have taught the republican party not alone of New Jersey but of the nation as well a much needed lesson. But let us try to be thankful for small favors in the way of independent voting on the part of the Colored men of the North. What is small this year may be much larger next year. And we think that it will be in spite of powerful influences to the contrary emanating from the White House and from the pliant tools of its interest in and out of public office and regardless of race and color. Political emancipation for the Colored voters of the North is written on the skies of parties in the Republic and come to pass it must and shall in the near future, we now and here venture to predict.

WHO LOVES ME?

By Charles Alexander.

(Copyrighted by The Gentlewoman.)

"Who loves me?" is the anxious question

Every man will sometimes ask;
No matter what his sphere or station,
No matter what may be his task.
No matter if he's in the gutter
Or nestled in the lap of fame,
He wants to know that someone loves
him,

And is pleased to hear his name

He wants to know that some true
mortal

Sees in him the good that's real—
To know that, while he sometimes falt
ers,

That mortal is as firm as steel.
He'd give the world to have this ques
tion

Gently answered with a kiss—
To hear the tender voice proclaim it
Would be to him a dream of bliss

True, there is but little gladness
For the man of busy life,
Except that joy which comes at eve-
ning

In his home with loving wife,
But to him who has no fireside,
And whose home cannot be found—
He who rolls and keeps a-rolling
Like a ball upon the ground.

He it is who asks the question
O'er and o'er and o'er again,
And if he never hears an answer,
The very silence gives him pain.
This world to him is very gloomy,
And naught there is in life to
cheer—
No one to say, "Sweetheart, I love
you,"
No one on earth to call him dear.

"Who loves me," is the anxious ques-
tion
Every man will sometimes ask;
No matter what his sphere or station.
No matter what may be his task.
No matter if he's in the gutter
Or nestled in the lap of fame,
He wants to know that someone loves
him,
And is pleased to hear his name.

WHAT DOES IT MATTER?

It matters little where I was born,
Or if my parents were rich or poor,
Whether they shrank at the cold
world's scorn,
Or walked in the pride of wealth se-
cure;
But whether I live an honest man,
And hold my integrity firm in my
clutch,
I tell you, brother, plain as I am,
It matters much!

It matters little how long I stay
In the world of sorrow, sin and
care;
Whether in youth I am called away,
Or live till my bones and pate are
bare;

But whether I do the best I can
To soften the weight of adversity's
touch
On the faded cheek of my fellow-man,
It matters much!

It matters little where be my grave,
Or on the land or on the sea,
By purling brook or 'neath stormy
wave,
It matters little or naught to me;
But whether the angel Death comes
down
And marks my brow with his loving
touch,
As one that shall wear the victor's
crown,
It matters much!

WORTH WHILE.

It is easy enough to be pleasant
When life flows by like a song,
But the man worth while is the one
who will smile
When everything does dead wrong;
For the test of the heart is trouble,
And it always comes with the years,
And the smile that is worth the praises
of earth
Is the smile that shines through
tears.

It is easy enough to be prudent
When nothing tempts you to stray,
When without or within no voice of
sin
Is luring your soul away.
But it's only a negative virtue
Until it is tried by fire
And the life that is worth the honor
of earth
Is the one that resists the desire.

By the cynic, the sad, the fallen,
Who had no strength for the strife,
The world's highway is cumbered to-
day;
They make up the item of life.
By the virtue that conquers passion,
And the sorrow that hides in a smile,
Is it these that are worth the homage
of earth,
For we find them but once in a
while.



News About Liberia and Africa Generally

By Walter F. Walker

To Found Colony in Liberia.

The Liberian Development Association recently organized for the purpose of founding a colony in the hinterland of Liberia, to be called Turner City, in honor of Bishop Henry M. Turner, the greatest and most insistent exponent of Negro emigration to Africa. The leaders of this association are: Francis H. Warren, President, Detroit, Mich.; Charles Alexander, Vice-President, Boston, Mass.; Walter F. Walker, Secretary, 714 Shawmut avenue, Boston, Mass. The Executive Board is composed of Rev. W. H. Heard, chairman, Atlanta, Ga., who was once U. S. Minister to Liberia, Rev. T. Augustus Reid, Detroit, Mich.; Miss Marie Duchatellier, Bocas del Toro, Panama; Jacob L. Johnson, Providence, R. I.; Prof. W. H. Dammond, Detroit, Mich.; R. E. L. Bailey, Kansas City, Mo.; J. N. Walker, Denver, Colo.

The Colorado African Colonization Company of Denver, Colorado, with Rev. J. M. Walker as its president, will co-operate with this movement, also the company headed by Mr. R. E. L. Bailey of Kansas City, Mo. The former company was organized in 1902 and has done much to stimulate interest in the Republic of Liberia.

All the persons mentioned are very enthusiastic in the work of upbuilding Liberia's hinterland, and every move from now until November 1, 1908, will be by way of preparation for the departure of the largest party of colored American emigrants that ever made a shift.

1,000 in First Party.

Not less than one thousand will enroll in the first party and sail upon

that date, and to this end it is hoped that all persons interested in the movement will co-operate with this movement and found Turner City, Liberia, W. A., in November, 1908.

Our association is already in touch with persons in every part of North and Central America, and its success is already assured because of the strong moral and intellectual character of those who are taking an active interest in the work, and because of the economic policy to be pursued. Every person signifying their intention of joining our first party is a master of some profession, trade or occupation, and will prove of great value in teaching modern methods of living and industry to the natives of Liberia's hinterlands.

Rate of Fare for Passage.

The passage from seaboard to Liberia will not exceed \$50 for each adult person, or one-half that amount for children under 14 years. It is probable that this rate will be materially reduced when our officers go into the market and charter a ship. One of the latter had secured a ship recently at a rate that would cost 1,000 persons between \$25 and \$30 each; so with a full thousand it is likely that this latter rate can be secured for direct passage from seaboard.

Outline of Colony Organization.

The association will secure a grant of 2,000 acres of land as a site for Turner City and there erect schools, institutes, and colleges for the education of our own youth as well as the native African youth. Around this educational and business centre our colonists will take up from fifteen to twenty acres of land each, and thus

practically form a new community covering a wide territory, and each farm making a sort of industrial school for the benefit of the native workmen.

Undertaking Highly Important.

While this undertaking is a large one, it is highly important that the start be made with such deliberation that will insure the success desired. A great amount of capital is unnecessary, but a complete readiness and fixedness of purpose by those who will embark with us November 1, 1908, will result in a most gratifying success, and will produce results for the uplifting of the race both in Africa and in America that will reflect great credit upon every member of party number one and all affiliated with them.

For further information address the secretary, Mr. Walter F. Walker, 71 Shawmut avenue, Boston, Mass.

PRESIDENT BARCLAY'S RETURN.

President Arthur Barclay has returned to Liberia after nearly two months' stay in England and France, where he has settled definitely the boundary questions effecting these two powers. It gives us a great degree of happiness to see that Mr. Barclay was treated with the same courtesy extended all men of his station regardless of color or nationality. He was regarded everywhere he went as the president of a nation, and this should make the heart of every loyal Negro, wherever found, to beat with joy, for it demonstrates the fact that Liberia is recognized as a nation and that it is something to be a Liberian citizen.

When President Barclay landed at Monrovia, the entire city turned out to pay him due honor. The militia was his body escort and the route from the wharf to the executive mansion was gaily decorated with the Lone Star Republic flags. The citizens gave him a magnificent banquet and many delegations were sent to assure him of the Liberian confidence in his wise policies for the advancement of the republic.

The following is an editorial from the Boston Transcript, one of the wisest edited newspapers in the country. When such a paper of opinion speaks so highly of Liberia it behoves the pigmy sheets that have published discrediting and hurtful articles concerning this republic to either recast their sentiments or be quiet altogether on the subject of Liberian backwardness.

Liberia's Bar Association.

Considering that the movements of the French on its " hinterland," and in the field of diplomacy, recently, have created a doubt whether Liberia has any very certain prospect of a future, or indeed has any very real existence at present as an autonomous state among the world's governments, it is curious to see that a Liberian National Bar Association was organized there in January last, as the printed report of the proceedings just received attests. The speeches delivered on the occasion are full of dignity, and not the burlesque dignity of the middleman of the minstrel show, either. Take this remark from the opening address of the president of the republic, Hon. Arthur Barclay: "In modern times the central point of the state is law. As men grew to learn the lesson of brotherhood, to recognize the rights of individuals, and to realize that altruism is productive of more peace, of more happiness, of more comfort, than individualism, they made Law the central idea of statehood. True, the change from a God to a Principle was slow, but it was steady. The firm tread of the generations following the disappearance of the Roman Empire has been heard without ceasing all down the ages. At times the step of the multitude has passed over rough places, as at Runnymede, at the Bastille, at Bunker Hill, and at Port au Prince. But like the ever rolling sea, that tread has gone on, setting up law in the form of constitutions as the central idea of the state, around which people have rallied and by which they have governed themselves under wise statutes of their own making."

If that quality of thinking and power of expression be anything to indicate the thought and eloquence of the cultured and influential classes of Li-

beria, it would seem that the destinies of the republic were at all events not in danger from any lack of intelligence in its ruling class leading to any misunderstanding of relations to the modern world. All the speeches betrayed public spirit and an enlightened patriotism, proving that the cultivated class at Monrovia, at least, are in touch with the events of the day throughout the world, and not only with modern events but modern ideas, and that they are constantly at work strengthening the institutions of their little nation with a full purpose of perpetuating the Republic of Liberia.

One would hardly believe, to examine this curiosity of literature, that its utterances represented a mere handful, variously estimated at from twenty to sixty thousand, of educated blacks lost in a population of over two millions of Mohammedan Africans; and that they were surrounded by ten times as many millions more in a little strip of territory not much larger than the state of Maine, stretching along four hundred miles of coast near the equator. The republic is sixty years old this year.

The Rights of the African in Relation With Europe.

Mr. Fox-Bourne spoke at the Hague Conference on the rights of subject races. Speaking of the task assumed by Europe in Africa, Mr. Fox-Bourne said: "But we must not forget that these very nations have admitted that the task they have taken upon themselves involves obligations as well as rights, that in making themselves masters in territories hitherto owned exclusively by less cultured communities, they have undertaken, not merely to do no injury to the uncultured people upon whom they force their neighborship, but to behave in neighborly ways, to improve their moral and material conditions, and to secure for them the benefits of peace and civilization. The only equitable warrant, in fact, for the white man's settlement in a country previously monopolized by blacks, is that, by better handling of the soil, he can make—say—ten blades of grass grow where they could only grow one blade, that

by burrowing under the soil he can draw thence treasure unprocurable by them, and that in other ways he can render the country more profitable to them as well as profitable to himself. If he does that, he may be a benefactor. If he does otherwise, he is a malefactor, self condemned. He must recognize and uphold the prior rights of the Blacks over whom he claims the right to set up some authority, or else he is a renegade from his professions and a betrayer of his own principles."

Constitutional Government for Abyssinia.

King Menelik has taken an important step in the direction of giving Abyssinia a constitutional form of government, in issuing a decree providing for the formation of a cabinet on European lines. At the same time his majesty announced the appointment of five ministers, who will preside respectively over the departments of foreign affairs, justice, finance, commerce and war.

Medieval Feudalism Heretofore.

The political institutions of Abyssinia hitherto have been essentially of a feudal character, similar to those of Europe in medieval times. The government has consisted of a state council, composed of the most important chiefs, or races, under whom, for administrative purposes, were the governors of districts and provinces and the head man of the villages. The legal system has been based on the Justinian code, and justice has been administered by the provincial governors and petty chiefs, with the right of appeal to the Emperor.

NOVEMBER.

All the trees in cold November,
Richly clothed in brilliant splendor,
Stately stand like maidens queenly,
In a ball room so serenely.
Rigid pines bereft of beauty,
Seem to have no special duty,
Stand like soldier boys on picket,
Left alone to guard the thicket.

Silent stalks of corn are standing,
O'er the once green fields commanding—
Little blades of wheat stocks swaying,

While two lonely lambs are playing,
Silently the winds go sighing—

Through the leaves that fast are dying,
And while the cold raindrops are falling,
Lonely birds their mates are calling.

Everything outside is dreary,
Nights are lonesome, long and weary,
And away off in the meadow,
You can hear poor Bossey bellow,
Near the fence old Towser barking,
In the house, the children larking,
All the world just seems to render,
Some fit token to November.

—J. Ed. Green.

AMERICA

America, famed land of liberty,
Is not another name for Opportunity.
For all her sons! Nay, bid me not be dumb,
"I will be heard!" Christians, I come,
To plead with burning eloquence of truth,
A brother's cause. Ay, to demand forsooth,
The manhood rights of which he is denied;
For long your pretense has your acts belied.
What has he done to merit your fierce hate?
I charge you speak the truth; for know his fate.
Irrevocably is bound up with yours,
For good will, as long as time endures.

* * * * *

Torn from his native home by ruthless hands,
For centuries he tilled your fruitful lands.
In shameful, base, degrading slavery,
Your docile, humble, faithful vassal, he;
Piling your coffers high with magic gold,
 Himself the while like cattle bought and sold,
When devastating war stalked thro' the land,
And dangers threatened you on every hand,
These sons, whose color you cannot forgive,
Did freely shed their blood that you might live,

O, Union, strong and great! And will you then,
Continue to degrade, oppress, condemn,
Your loyal children, while the smiling face,
You raise disloyal ones to power and place.

* * * * *

Is race or color crime that for this cause,
You draft against the Negro unjust laws
Is race or color sin that he should be
For these things, treated so outrageously?

O, boastful white American, beware!
It is the handiwork of God you dare
Thus to despise, and He will you repay
With generous measure overflowing;
yea,
For all the good which in his life you've wrought
For righteous deed or kindly, loving thought—
For ev'ry act of cruelty you've done,
For ev'ry groan which you have from him wrung,
For ev'ry infamy by him endured,
He will repay you all (be well assured)
Not him alone, ere time shall cease to be,
But likewise there thro' all eternity.

CARRIE W. CLIFFORD.

IN GOD'S ACRE.

Written by M. Hanson Best, for Buxton Gazette.

I.

Rich man, poor man, beggar /man, thief,
All lie together 'neath sod and leaf;
All lie together till the judgment hour
When God shall speak, in love and power.
Red skin, white skin, yellow or brown;
God in His justice looking down;
God doesn't ask when we come to die;
If God doesn't ask—then why should I?

II.

Here lies a mother who loved her child,
Willful, wayward, wanton and wild;
Suffered and sorrowed, with breaking heart,
Doing Christ-like her humble part,
Red skin, yellow skin, black or white,

When the soul hath taken sweet
death-flight,
God doesn't ask the fleshly hue.
If God doesn't ask—then why should
you?

III.

This was a hero—on his pulsing breast,
War's crimson flower lulled his
heart to rest,
Did God taking home that hero-soul
Ask his color, ere he reached the
goal?
White skin, black skin, yellow or red;
It's all the same, when a man is
dead;
God doesn't ask what skin we wear.
If God doesn't ask—how can we
dare?

IV.

Lady of fashion, woman toil-browed,
Girl of the street, with its sinful
crowd,
Scornful and scorned, side by side,
God judgeth each, as she lived and
died.
Red skin, brown skin, yellow or white,
It counteth naught in heaven's sight;

God doesn't ask what face we wear.
If God doesn't ask—why should we
care?

V.

This was a man, who day by day,
Lived and loved in his lowly way;
Lived for his children, wife and neigh-
bor.

Murmured not at his load of labor;
Red skin, white skin, brown or yellow,
Got asketh not of the honest fellow;
God gives him honor, prejudice free.
If God hath charity—why not we?

VI.

One force from the Centre of Life,
flows free,
Thro' rock and dust, and flower and
tree,
Up from the animal world to man;
And back again, whence life began.
Shall we forswear the common tie;
Dare we our brotherhood deny?
Red skin, yellow skin, white or black;
God doesn't ask when he calls us
back.

God doesn't ask what skin we wear,
If God doesn't ask—how can we dare?

A Successful Undertaker of Cleveland.

By N. D. Brasher.

Among the handsome funeral establishments that lend embellishment to the Commercial enterprises of Cleveland, Ohio, the elegant establishment of J. W. Wills & Sons occupies an exceedingly conspicuous position.

Mr. J. W. Wills, the proprietor, is a graduate from one of the leading colleges in Ohio, is well known and highly respected throughout the state.

In a recent article to the Cleveland Journal, Mr. Wills said: "The funeral business should be conducted on a high plane. There is no other business like it. The funeral director who expects to

succeed must recognize this fact, and be awake to the progressive spirit of his profession. On entering this profession, he incurs an obligation to exert his best abilities to maintain his dignity and honor, to exalt his standing in the community and to extend the bounds of his usefulness. His calling is a lofty one indeed, for there is perhaps no profession after that of the sacred ministry in which a greater purity of character, a higher standing of moral excellence, a calm and sympathetic nature is more imperatively necessary than that of the funeral director.

Upon his professional skill and the faithful discharge of his duties rests the safety of the community from contagion, epidemics and pestilence. The nature of his calling takes him into the inner circles of the home where he becomes the sacred trustee of many secret and delicate circumstances, the privacies of personal and domestic life.

Mr. Wills has merited the highest commendation on account of his excel-

show rooms attract numbers of visitors daily.

We are pleased to present to our readers this month, the accompanying cuts and illustrations of the funeral establishment of J. W. Wills & Sons, of Cleveland.



J. W. WILLS,
Proprietor and Manager.

lent manner in conducting funerals. He has been called to cities more than 200 miles from Cleveland for that purpose. His place of business is perfect in its arrangement, and a model in every particular. Every element of gloom is eliminated by the beautiful furnishings and artistic decorations which adorn its interior.

His elegant office and reception parlors, beautiful chapel and magnificent



MRS. A. S. HERN—MRS. M. L. MOSS,
Attendants.

SERIOUS BECAUSE TRUE.

Evidently some competent constitutional lawyer had a hand in the drafting of the following portions of the Tariff platform adopted by the Whitney wing of the Massachusetts Democracy at the State convention of October 5.

Republican reciprocity as exemplified in the recent agreement between this country and Germany is not only so limited as to be of little value, but unconstitutional. It gives to one favored nation by executive decree, without the consent of congress or the ratification of a treaty by the senate, the benefit of a practical suspension of our customs laws. It directly invites fraud, discriminates against American importers and deprives our government of its revenues.

It arouses also the just resentment of other nations which are denied the extraordinary advantages illegally given to their formidable industrial competitor, and it must lead either to further discrimination against this country or to the extension of these unconstitutional favors. The Democratic party calls for real and comprehensive reciprocity, secured through constitutional methods, and we denounce administrative preferences granted by executive decree as in defiance of law and of the constitution.

This is a serious indictment—the more serious because it is absolutely true.

It is true that a law of congress has been subverted and its plain intent defeated in setting aside the requirement that current wholesale market value in the country of production shall be the basis of dutiable value, and, in lieu thereof, permitting foreign exporters to appraise their own goods at a lower "export price."

It is true that the German Tariff trade agreement gives to one favored nation—in fact, four favored nations—without the consent of congress, the benefit of a practical suspension of our customs laws.

It is true that this suspension invites fraud, discriminates against a large number of American importers, exposes American labor and industry to unfair and unlawful competition and deprives our government of its revenues.

It is true that this perversion of our customs laws must, in the nature of things, lead either to further tariff discrimination against exports of the United States or to the extension to other countries of the same unconstitutional favors.

It is true, according to the opinion of eminent lawyers, that Tariff preferences have been granted by Executive decree in defiance of law and of the constitution.—From the "American Economist," Friday, October 18, 1907.

**JOSEPHINE SILONE-YATES, A.M.,
JEFFERSON CITY, MO.**

Professor Yates was educated in the schools of New York and Rhode Isl-

and, Newport High school, state normal, Providence, and was the first Afro-American to receive by competitive examination or otherwise a teachers' certificate entitling one to teach in the public schools of Newport, R. I.

Graduating from Rogers High school of Newport, with highest scholarship, gold medal, valedictorian of the class, and the only Colored student in it; two years later with honor rank from the Rhode Island State Normal school. Still later, through courses of study and examinations with the National University of Illinois, she received from that institution the degree, Master of Arts.

From the date of graduation she has devoted her life to work for the race, and meanwhile has broadened an already liberal education by diligent study along various lines of work and by an experience of twenty-five years as teacher in high, normal school and college work.

From 1881 to 1889 she held the chair of natural science in Lincoln Institute, Jefferson City, Mo., and now for a period of four years (1902-1906) she has held the chair of English and history in the same institution. During the intervening years she conducted a private academy in Kansas City, and taught at intervals in Lincoln High school of that city.

Professor Yates is known throughout the length and breadth of the United States as an educator, writer, lecturer and race woman, and has contributed articles to such leading newspapers and magazines as the Boston Herald and the Transcript, New York Evangelist, Truth, Kansas City Journal, Los Angeles Herald, etc., and is associate editor of the Educational Review, a magazine published in Vincennes, Ind., in the interest of Afro-American teachers. As a lecturer or public speaker she has been greeted by such bodies as the National Council of Women, National Congress of Mothers, Kansas City Teachers' Institute, Greenwood Club of the same city, Bethel Literary, of Washington, etc.

She has occupied with benefit to the organizations and credit to herself many positions of trust and honor, and was elected President of the Na-

tional Association of Colored Women in Buffalo in 1901, which position she now holds, having been unanimously re-elected to this high office in St. Louis, in 1904, accompanied by an ovation that by many who witnessed both events was likened to that given President Roosevelt a few weeks before in the same city on the occasion of his nomination.

The National Association of Colored Women has greatly increased in numbers, influence and efficiency during the administration of Mrs. Yates. Many state and city federations have been organized and are doing most excellent work. The national work has been systematized into departments and placed in charge of competent superintendents and associates. Twenty-three states have federated and affiliated clubs are found in thirty-eight states.

The national organization was incorporated in 1904 under the laws of Missouri, and during the first term of Mrs. Yates' administration, and is now in position to receive bequests, endowments, etc., to carry forward the great and beneficent work that it is undertaking.

It is, perhaps, in the home as wife and mother, in the schoolroom as teacher, and at the desk as writer, that Mrs. Yates finds her most congenial work and is at her best, for, to quote Dr. James M. Greenwood, superintendent of Kansas City schools, and others equally well qualified to judge, "She is one of the best prepared women in the entire country for higher educational work."

In all of my experiences of school life, I never became disgusted but once with any of my teachers. You will agree with me that my disgust was well founded. While in the third grade it was my custom to remain in my room during the noon hour in inclement weather. My teacher and one of her colleagues were engaged in a conversation one day about domestic affairs. In their discussion the subject of washing came up. My teacher said, "Indeed I know nothing about washing. I do not know whether you starch the clothes first and then wash them, or wash them first and then starch

them." Just whether her statement was true or not I am not able to say. But at my age then, I knew all about the business and doubted her statements, as I felt that she, being a teacher should know by observation, if not from actual experience. This, however, led me to watch after her more closely and my anxiety was great to know what her future life would be, especially her married life. I had reasons to believe she would become a wife, as she seemed otherwise amiable and to me very attractive. She did wed. But unhappily for her she married a man whose mother was domestic. She was forced to live with this mother-in-law, who followed washing. I said unhappily for her, but it was not so in after years. When she could not live with her mother-in-law in peace a separation was brought about between herself and husband. She having been out of the routine of school life for some years had grown "rusty" and did not feel qualified to re-enter her chosen profession. The next labor best known to her was that of washing and ironing, that she had learned at the hand of the "cruel" mother-in-law. By this branch of domestic science she is now making money to support herself and two children.

Where does the blame lie in this individual's career?



THE BEAUTIFUL CITY HALL OF
SAN BERNARDINO, CAL.

A Light in the Black Belt of Mississippi.

By Miss Emma C. Penney.

Not many years ago there was a lad of the Negro race who, early in life, began to feel the weight of the vice and ignorance of his people resting upon his boyish shoulders. As he grew older and the thought of the condition of his race gave him anxious days and sleepless nights, he at last said within himself, "I am my brother's keeper, and I will go and help to deliver him from his bondage of ignorance and crime."

With love and pity in his heart, he left a comfortable home and a pleasant position in Alabama and went to the forest lands near the Yazoo delta of Mississippi to build a school for his people.

Five years ago on the 22nd of October, he reached the town of Utica, Mississippi. Those who have had no hardships can hardly realize what it means to make something out of absolutely nothing. When he arrived upon the scene the present campus consisted of woods and cornfields. The people were suspicious because a short while before a trickster had been to the town begging money to build a school for his "needy black brethren," and the next thing the donors knew he had a thriving grocery store in another town. Naturally they looked askance at Mr. Holtzclaw. You ask me if he was discouraged because of the poor outlook? No! a thousand times no! A man with such high, noble, unselfish love and such determination to do something for his people knew not the meaning of the word "discouraged." He won them. He worked and talked his way right through their hearts to their pockets. Today they stand by him as one man with their money and their love.

The fifth anniversary was celebrated in the Institute chapel on the evening of the 22nd of October and it is perfectly amazing to see what one man has done in five short years.

The first building still stands though somewhat feebly. It is a log cabin. In the early days the principal and his wife kept house in the room on the lower floor and the boarding compartment for the students was the attic with a curtain partition between the boys' and girls' apartments. School opened with the overwhelming number of two, one boy and as many girls.

Today only five years later, remember, there are fourteen buildings, four hundred boarding and town students, twenty-five teachers and officers, one hundred and three acres of land, livestock, and many other things that go to make up a school. The property is valued at thirty thousand dollars.

The institution is superior to many industrial schools because, although the boys and girls are given excellent industrial training, the literary work is not slighted the least bit. Each student has two work days and four school days one week, and the next week he has one work day and five school days and so on alternately.

It is interesting to note how well the industrial departments are equipped. The trades taught the boys are carpentry, blacksmithing, wheelwrighting, printing, dairying, farming and shoemaking, stock raising and scientific agriculture. The girls' industries are cooking, sewing, laundering, housekeeping, broommaking, dressmaking and millinery.

The boys are learning the great lesson of obedience through their military training. Every morning before school they meet on the parade ground and drill. The drummer does his part with so much enthusiasm that the embryo soldiers catch the spirit, and it does one good just to see the manly way in which they march.

There is work and plenty of it in the institution but to see the students and teachers about the buildings and

grounds one would think work the most delightful occupation imaginable (as indeed it is) because of the cheerful faces and sunny smiles. It is a busy place from the ringing of the rising bell at five to the goodnight chimes at ten and reminds one much of a happy beehive.

Chapel exercises are held every evening just before the retiring hour and many beautiful and helpful things are told to the boys and girls by the principal and teachers from time to time.



PROF. W. H. HOLTZCLAW PRINCIPAL UTICA INSTITUTE.

We must not forget one who has helped in the building up of this institution and that is the principal's wife. Through the five years she has stood by his side and helped him over hard places. Through the first long lonely, homesick summer she stayed with the boy and girl students in the little log cabin while her husband was away working for the means to carry on the school. She murmured not for she knew she was helping to answer the cry of thousands of God's people who wanted the light but knew not where to turn.

At the anniversary exercises the principal modestly said:

"The constantly recurring questions among those who contribute of their means to the betterment of conditions in the South as regards the uplift of the Negroes are: What are my efforts accomplishing? Is the Negro being uplifted? What is his tendency in the direction of self help? Let me mention one specific example which will serve in some degree to answer these questions:



PROF. W. H. HOLTZCLAW CUTTING LUMBER FOR BUILDING.

"After finishing my course at the Tuskegee Institute, I came here five years ago and began the building up of what is now known as the Utica Normal and Industrial Institute. I found the Negroes groping in darkness and suffering on every hand as a result of that darkness. A stranger, with no money or friends, I began at once to build a school for the enlightenment of the people. With my axe I personally led the farmers into the forests where we cut the trees to make lumber for our first building. At first I taught in the open air there being no house. I organized the Negroes

for effective work, induced them to give their extra pennies in the cotton-selling season for the building of a school instead of giving it to the circuses. I went from house to house, among white and colored people seeking funds until I finally got a start. I have gone steadily on until now the institution is one of the largest in the state, and situated as it is in the heart of a section of country containing 600,000 Negroes, it seem destined to render great service."

He also said that he should not be given credit for what has been done because the work has really been done by the various consecrated workers whom he has been able to gather around him from time to time, and the various friends who have become interested in the work. He could not have done it alone. That is all true, but when all is said and done had there been no William H. Holtzclaw with a purpose and a determination to carry out that purpose, the Utica campus would still be woodland and waving corn. And instead of the thriving, intelligent progressive community, there would still be ignorance, vice and degradation.

PALESTINE.

Shaped like New Hampshire with its white mountains,
Its rivers and rapids, lakes and great sea,
Drouth drieth up its streams and its fountains,
And parcheth the soil on hillside and lea.
Glory that dwelt on the plains in old story,
It hence hath departed in Time's rapid team,
And Lebanon still in its heights is as hoary
As once to old Israel did the mount seem.
Horeb is wondrous as was it to Moses,
In times which Tradition brings to our ears.
Its beauty the lily as truly discloses.
As when it the Teacher to people endears,
Bethel is precious to travel-worn pilgrims,

Today as it was in Jacob's lone way,
And many a worshiper seeks for Jerusalem's
Renown and its glory to find but decay,
Sad devastation oft sweeps o'er the regions
Once conquered by Israel, then by old Rome;
Then conquered by Turkey's furious legions,
And now of the Bedouin is it the home.

PARIS AND PEKIN.

Pekin lies inland from Pacific seas
As Paris inland from Atlantic lies,
Alike each sheltered from the briny breeze
Which o'er old ocean's billowed bosom flies.
And each lies central relative to those
Staid states which makes up Europe and the East,
Tween north and south these clamy there repose,
Where worldly knowledge more will be increased.
Japan and England lie not far away,
Two natural boundaries, but two bands of sea,
Bid both the peoples in great peace to stay
Nor covet the land that should the other's be.
Pekin is China as is Paris, France,
And Russia reaches far from shore to shore.—
The Baltic to the Okhotsk her expanse
From Black to Yellow seas she reaches o'er.
Within her coasts Korea yet will come
Must Nature's boundaries be respected some.
Some bond shall sometime yet these cities bind,
May be the younger will the older guide,
Or sister love each in the other find,
While one the waning of her years shall hide,
May be young France will walk by Russia's side
And be awakened, Russia's new-born pride.

—Perry Marshall.



Notes and Comments



By Kelly Miller

THE NEED OF ORGANIZATION.

During the past summer there were held several important conventions or associations of Colored men. First came the Afro-American Council, in Baltimore. Then the Business Men's League in Topeka, the Niagara Movement in Boston, the Doctors' Convention in Baltimore and the great Baptist convention in Washington and the Colored Teachers' association at Hampton. All of these movements had in view the same ultimate object, viz., the betterment of the Colored race. The method of the Afro-American Council and the Niagara Movement is agitational, and is concerned mainly with political and public rights. The Doctors' association aims at higher professional equipment and work in the healing art. The Business League strains to inculcate business thrift and method along constructive lines. The Teachers' Association essays to handle the educational factors of the problem—while the Baptist convention is limited to the religious work of the denomination which embraces more than one half the Colored race. There were held also various denominational meetings, and annual sessions of secret, fraternal and benevolent orders. These movements speak plainly the necessity of some one great central organization that would actuate the life of the entire race. The several organizations are all doing partial good in their respective spheres. But there is need of a unification, or at least a correlation of aim and effort for the whole race. The student of conditions sees too plainly that the rights and

substantial interests of the people are suffering grievously because of the lack of such an organization. The task is indeed a difficult one. It cannot be impossible. Herein lies a great work of the future.

The Colored Lawyers.

Why is there not a national organization among Colored lawyers? The ministers, the doctors, the business men, the educators have various forms of local and national organization; but so far the Colored lawyers seem to have little local or national coherence. The public duty and responsibility of the Negro lawyer is at this crisis perhaps greater than that of any other class among us. The late Prof. Langston who may be regarded as the father of the profession among Colored lawyers, used to say that it would devolve upon the Colored lawyer to reinterpret to the American people the spirit and meaning of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. Cases involving the fundamental rights of the race are now passing through the courts. Seldom has the white lawyer any interest in such cases beyond the fee involved. The Colored lawyers should unite. Will they rise to the emergency?

Negro Bishop.

The Episcopal convention at Richmond, has been wrestling with the problem of what to do with its Colored communicants. If Christians will create problems by departure from the plain teachings of the great head of the church, there can be no end to the involved complications. The Negro Episcopalians demanded a bishop; they got a suffragan bishop. This provision is only tentative and experimental.

These Colored members feel that of right, they should have a hand in managing the Lord's estate of which they form a part. Nothing less than full equality, or ecclesiastic severance and independence will prove ultimately satisfactory. In ecclesiastics as in politics, there can be no permanent halfway ground between subjection and equality. All that can be said of these temporary provisions is: "Suffer them to be so now."

The great Methodist church will soon have to face the same problem. These men want a bishop of their own race and kin. Experience plainly shows that no race that arrogates superiority over another can be the effective spiritual leaders of the people held in despite. The Baptists and the independent branches of the Methodist church are gathering in their black followers by the millions while the denominations under white control, are debating with supercilious impatience, "what shall we do to reach the poor Negro?"

Violent abuse of those who do not follow your tenets is a poor support of the righteousness of your own position.

A Parable with a Moral.

Once upon a time two donkeys moving in the same direction came upon a huge boulder which obstructed their common pathway. They took counsel as to how the obstruction might best be removed. One of them declared that it must be pushed over to the west; the other stoutly asserted that

it must be pushed in the opposite direction. A fierce wrangle ensued. They engaged in mortal combat, each kicking the other into a lifeless pulp. The carrion perched aloft watched the struggle with great delight, gloating over the anticipated outcome. In after years the traveler was pointed to this unshaken boulder as a monument of assinine folly. Moral—He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

The Richmond Dinner.

Two bishops of the Episcopalian church dined together in Richmond the other day and it almost caused a social convulsion in the confederate capital. And yet the same church sends missionaries to the benighted regions of the earth to redeem men from the bonds of superstition. This whole bugbear of social equality is nothing more than a social superstition, whose folly was never more strikingly illustrated than by the furore raised in and out of church circles because the bishop of Liberia dined with the bishop of New York. What will the benighted heathen in China and Japan think of this? Why should we detest the Hindoo caste, and at the same time cherish a Christian caste based upon more nonsensical distinctions?

A Misfortune.

The retirement of Editor Fortune from the editorship and control of the *Age* is a racial misfortune. But Fortune could not stay out of the arena if he would; he would not if he could; and should not if he would and could.

The Duty of the Church to the Negro.

By John H. Stotsenburg

WE would be very glad if each minister to whom a copy of this number of ALEXANDER'S MAGAZINE is sent will read this particular article to his congregation.

If any race or body of people need protection and assistance—practical assistance in this republic it is the Negro race. Taken by violence from their native country, sold into slav-

ery, kept in poverty, ignorance and wretchedness and compelled by the lash to obey the orders of their task-masters, the Negroes have been great sufferers both before and since the cruel but necessary war which made

them free citizens of the United States.

In pointing out the present condition of the black race in our country, I am not appealing to the church to use its influence solely to civilize and christianize the members of that race. I am asking the church to aid in protecting and preserving them by its powerful influence for good from that unjust, unconstitutional and murderous lynching habit which now disgraces the republic.

When Americans talk of civilizing and christianizing foreigners and of regulating recalcitrant Filipinos and Cubans, it does not seemingly occur to them that it would be better to begin at home and bring popular and governmental influence to bear to remove the cruel and vindictive prejudice which now exists against the citizen of color.

There is a prejudice—a prejudice akin to, if not worse than savage cruelty and fiendish barbarity which exhibits to the world its baneful influence in the shooting, hanging, burning and torturing of Colored men upon mob accusation merely without the slightest regard to the forms of law and in utter contempt of the constitutional right of the black citizen. Every man in this republic, whether white, black or yellow, has the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor and have the assistance of counsel for his defense."

These are the vested rights of an accused person solemnly conferred upon him by article 6 of the constitution of the republic, and yet as to persons of color, the organic law is wholly disregarded and in several states of the Union, no governmental protection is extended to Negroes accused of crime. Here is a concrete illustration, occurring in October, 1907, in Cumberland, Maryland, a city of 13,000 inhabitants.

A Negro man, age 22 years

charged with the murder of Policeman Augustus Baker, was taken by a mob early this morning which stormed the jail and kicked him to death on the cobble stones in the rear of the court house. The Rev. William C. Hicks, rector of Emmanuel Episcopal church pleaded with the mob to disperse as they were attempting to break into the jail. They listened to his exhortation for a moment and then hooted. As the Negro lay dying on the cobble stones, Mr. Hicks offered a prayer. The mob wanted to burn the Negro, but the minister begged them not to do so, and they respected his wishes." Brave Mr. Hicks. Would to God, that all ministers of the Gospel were like him. Last month, a Negro was lynched by a mob on a charge of stealing seventy-five cents. The statistics show that the murderous system of lynching continues from month to month, practically unrebuked and not confined to any particular section or state.

This momentous question of the protection of the Colored race confronts the nation from the President and the governors and legislatures of the several states to the unofficial humble citizen. No man, however, exalted or low in station can shut his eyes to the fact that no question can compare with that of the protection of the Colored race against its white oppressors. American white prejudice, if suffered to commit lawless deeds of violence under the pretense of swift, retributive justice without the recourse to courts and juries, will sooner or later, precipitate a war of races. This white prejudice, as one of the great leaders of the race declares, is founded upon the fact "that they are Negroes, and that is enough, in the eyes of this unreasoning and unreasonable prejudice to justify indignity and violence. In nearly every department of American life they are confronted by this insidious influence. It fills the air. It meets them at the workshop and factory, when they apply for work. It meets them at the church, at the hotel, at the railway station, at the ballot box and most of all, it meets them in the jury box. Without crime or offense against law

or Gospel, the black man is the Jean Valjean of American society. He has escaped from the galleys and hence all presumptions are against him. The workshop denies him work, the inn denies him shelter, the ballot box a fair vote, and the jury box a fair trial. He has ceased to be the slave of the individual, but has in some sense become the slave of society." The writer might have truthfully added that the only outspoken and fearless white friends and defenders that the Negro has in the political world are Senator Foraker and Representative Keifer of Ohio. Where then shall the black citizen turn for protection except to the church of Jesus Christ?

The church is the missioner of God as to whom it was declared in Holy writ that He will keep the simple folk by their right, defend the children of the poor and punish the wrong doers. That He will deliver the poor when he crieth—the needy also and him that hath no helper. He shall deliver their souls from falsehood and wrong and dear shall their blood be in His sight. God does not forget. History teaches us, as in the case of the Roman empire, that rude barbarians may be God's instrument to chastise and even overthrow the arrogant and tyrannical nations which use their strength to oppress the weak. This great republic is kinder to the foreigner than to its own citizens, for if an innocent Colored citizen is lynched by a mob in one of our states, no redress whatever is given to his widow or heirs-at-law. But if a citizen of any foreign power is so lynched, adequate compensation from this country is exacted and provided. The famous declaration of Daniel Webster, the great expounder of the constitution that in this country, "everywhere the law reaches to the highest and reaches to the lowest to protect all in their rights and to restrain all from wrong," is made a lie by the indifference of congress and the state legislatures. The black citizen is not protected in his legal and constitutional rights and privileges. To whom then can he go for redress except to the Christian church which ought to have power to influence Christian legislators and Christians' people in his behalf?

The church neglects its great opportunity. It is afraid to speak out authoritatively against the glaring injustice done to the Negro citizen. What Christian body instructs its ministers or priests to denounce lynching and lynchers? What general assembly, convention, synod or council dares to enjoin upon its members ad supporters throughout the land to abstain from lynching and to protect accused Negroes from the tyranny and ruffianly cruelty of a mob? There are of course, individual ministers of the Gospel, like the Rev. Mr. Hicks—true followers of the Saviour—men worthy of all honor and praise, who fearlessly denounce the infamous lynching system, but they are not sustained by any authoritative declaration of the church. If the church of Christ had done or would do its duty boldly and fearlessly in denouncing the cruelties practiced upon the Negro, that race would take care of itself and education and religion would soon purify and enlighten it. If eloquence can win men to Christ, the Colored man has natural gifts of oratory which can be made effectual for that purpose. If music and sweet melodies can touch the sinner's heart, the Colored race possesses the glorious gift of song to a remarkable degree. Let the church stand out boldly for the protection of the Negro from persecution and systematic oppression. And as for the million and a half of Negro church members in the Union, they should make it their instant and constant duty through their bishops, ministers and leaders and themselves individually to memorialize congress to protect them in the rights and privileges guaranteed to them under the Federal constitution. Let them compel congress by their importunate and just complaints to hear and help them.

There is room enough in the world for all people, black, brown and white. There is ample room in America for the black man, as the father of the family, the protector of the state and the child of the church. Let all the people give the Colored man a fair chance acknowledging and respecting his constitutional rights, and America will not be ashamed of her black children from whose limbs fell the

shackles of the slaveholder only forty-two years ago.

The Israelites, specially led by the Almighty Father, came out of Egyptian slavery, a corrupt, licentious stiff-necked and rebellious people.

The Negroes, emancipated by the necessities of war, came out of American slavery a simple minded, honest illiterate and loyal people. The ancient Britons were superstitious and ferocious. The Saxons were barbarous and ignorant. The Normans were not much better. Only a few centuries have quietly passed and today England—the England of the Britons, the Saxons and the Normans, with her language, her laws, her literature, her arts, her manufactures and her Christianity controls and leads the world. She protects all her citizens. Nations envy and admire that power, as Webster has felicitously said "which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts; whose morning drum-beat, following the sun and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England." And why should not America, our America, doing equal and exact justice and giving equal and exact legal protection to all its citizens, black or white, stand among the nations of the earth as much respected and admired as England is today? If the citizens of the republic will protect the Colored race, it will do its part. In other countries, where their legal rights have been respected, black men have been and are great in arts and arms. Here nothing can keep back their advancement, unless they are wantonly destroyed.

But the prejudiced white man and the clerical pessimist will say and assert and they do say and assert that the blacks are poverty-stricken wretches covered with moral leprosy. Oh! they may be poor—poor as the tramps who wander from door to door. They may be, some or many of them, unclean, but the parable teaches that it was Lazarus, the wretched, sore-covered beggar who in the abode of the blessed, reclined on Abraham's bosom; and Scripture tells us that the purifying, cleansing touch of Christ was for

the loathsome and diseased, the abhorred and the outcast and not for the healthy and strong; that His words of comfort were not for the righteous, but for the guilty sinner. A world renowned writer, through whose veins coursed the hated African blood, and whose dark face, had he lived in our republic, would have doomed him, at least in public opinion, to the position of a menial, although he was the peer of the greatest dramatists and romancers makes Pelissier say to Louis XIV, "The hand of your majesty strikes like the hand of God. When the Lord sends the curse of leprosy or pestilence into a family, every one flees panic-stricken. Sometimes, but very rarely, a generous physician ventures alone to approach the accursed threshold and exposes his life to combat death." The church is the fearless physician of the Almighty, prescribing and administering the medicine of the son of God to the moral leper. Her hand heals like the touch of Jesus. Her voice soothes and inspires like His voice. Let her put out her hand now, let her use her voice now when unchristian prejudice assails and when political knavery deceives the Colored race. The church of Christ should be their outspoken and fearless saviour and protector; just as our great leader stood in the synagogue at Nazareth, championing the cause of the poor, the broken-hearted and the captive in the face of a scowling, wrathful and murderous mob, so should the Christian church stand before all Americans in bold and eloquent annunciation of the God-given principle that "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all in all." And if any man, who professes and calls himself a Christian, believes that the white race should rule, regulate and tyrannize over the black race in temporal and spiritual matters, let him shut himself in his closet, take up his testament and study the vision of St. Peter, and if he really is a Christian, the divine power will compel him to confess, as St. Peter did in the presence of his kinsmen and friends that "God hath showed me that I should not call any man common or unclean."

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Send in your STORIES AND POEMS at once, with subscription price for the magazine. Enter this grand race-elevating CONTEST.

ADDRESS:

CHARLES ALEXANDER, Publisher,
714 Shawmut avenue, Boston, Mass.

Advertisement.

Boston, November, 27, 1907.

Dear Sir:—

We are addressing you this personal letter as one of the Colored voters of Boston to urge upon you the reasons which should lead you to support our present mayor, Hon. John F. Fitzgerald, for re-election. Political independence is in the air, and you should embrace this opportunity to prove that your vote is not controlled by any party, whatever its past record may have been. Give your support to the candidate who stands for the most liberal recognition of the rights of all men, regardless of color, race or creed, and is best worthy of the support of our race.

You may not be aware of the fact, but it is the truth that Mayor Fitzgerald has given our race more important appointments than it has ever before received in the New England States. Mr. Edward Everett Brown, a well-known lawyer, was appointed by the Mayor to the important position of Assistant Health Commissioner, at a salary of \$2500 a year, and he has been given full charge of the important division of this department which controls the enforcement of the laws relating to tenement houses. This is the most important and highest salaried public position which has ever been given to a Colored citizen in Boston. Two other appointments have been made by the Mayor which are also notable recognitions of our race, those of Mr. Stewart E. Hoyt as Clerk in the Collector's office and of Mr. Frank M. Gray as Clerk in the Water Department. These positions are in striking contrast with those of janitor or messenger which before this have been considered all that our race was worthy of in Boston; if we desire a continuance of such recognition we must show our appreciation of the man who is responsible for it at the coming city election on December 10th.

When it was proposed that a separate meeting for Colored people should be held in connection with the Old Home Week exercises a representative committee waited upon the Mayor to protest against such discrimination. Mayor Fitzgerald at once recognized the justice of our position and secured us absolute equality of treatment.

A meeting of Colored citizens in the interest of the re-election of Mayor Fitzgerald will be held at Faneuil Hall on Tuesday Evening, December 3, 1907, at 8 o'clock, and Edward Everett Brown, Esq., will preside and speeches will be made by Mayor John F. Fitzgerald, Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom, Hon. A. H. Grimke and other prominent citizens. All citizens are invited to attend.

Yours fraternally,

J. H. LEWIS	LYDE W. BENJAMIN
M. R. DeMORTIE	EUGENE ROUND TREE
JOSEPH LEE	ASA B. KOUNTZE
ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE	W. D. KING
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